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THE TABLET.——No. XVIII.

"One of the chief distinctions between a wise man and a fool is, that while the latter discovers whatever his fancy may suggest, the former only communicates what is proper to be known."

A TALKATIVE, forward youth, was presented to a celebrated teacher of rhetoric, to be instructed in the art of oratory. The guardian of the intended pupil enquired of the professor, what sum he usually demanded for a course of instruction? The instructor without giving a direct answer to the question replied, that whatever was his common price for tuition, he should on that occasion ask a double sum; "for," said he, "I shall be obliged to teach this lad to hold his tongue, before he can with propriety be learnt to speak. It is not only necessary that a person should know *how* to speak but *when* to speak. I always find trouble in managing a boy who is disposed to make more use of his tongue than his ears."

So many essays have been written on the subject of ill-timed, indiscreet conversation, that perhaps no reader will wish to see such a topic introduced. There is, however, one question connected with this subject, that I have a mind to discuss.

Many persons are at a loss to determine which succeeds best in the world, a man of a *modest*, or *impudent* carriage. There is great difference of opinion on this point. Indeed the same person, at different times, thinks differently on it.

When one observes a man of small abilities, and a narrow spirit, whose company is courted in the most fashionable circles, merely because he says what he pleases without restraint, and fears and regards nobody, it is apt to force a conclusion that impudence has very attractive charms. On the other hand, when a person of dull genius and reserved manners, beguiles people into a belief that he possesses great wisdom and penetration, it leads to a supposition, that silence and gravity are the most infallible means to secure reputation.

What rule can therefore be formed to direct the steps of a youth, in introducing himself, with the best advantage, to the world?

Perhaps few directions can be given, that will be applicable alike to all persons and to all situations. The conduct and behaviour of any particular person must depend on his disposition, and on the objects he proposes to accomplish by his intercouse with mankind. If he has a natural volatility of spirits, and wishes to obtain those pleasures that result from being noticed in a great variety of mixed companies, he will find that prattle and vivacity will promote such views more effectually than a modest distant misdemeanor. The fact is, he acts in his proper character, and avoids the charge of affectation. He is trifled with, without being ridiculed; and attended to, without being respected: He is well received in many polite parties, and eats many good dinners. Sensible men say he is merry and harmless; and those who have no more understanding than himself, declare, that he is a man of wit and humour: His noise and bustle give him a consequence with the undiscerning part of mankind; while those who view him, as he deserves, do not wish the trouble of disputing his pretensions to such a degree of estimation, as he acquires. In short, he becomes a privileged man; nobody offend him, or is offended at him. He says what he pleases to others; while they in their turn, say what they please to him, without any ill humour on either side.

But a person of a different temper, and who has different wishes to gratify, must model his manners upon far other principles. A man of a slow perception and grave cast of mind, can only derive importance by concealing, as much as possible, the defects of his understanding and the coldness of his heart. For this purpose, his intercourses with men should be few and reserved. He should speak little, and affect such an air of mystery as will make people imagine, that he keeps back something much more important than what he communicates. He will no doubt have knowlege enough to make some *proper* remarks; and he should have prudence never to make any that are *improper*. Those who are as dull as himself think he is a prodigy of wisdom; while those who have penetration to see through the disguise, have it not in their power to convince other people of the deception. This prudent man commits no act, and delivers no opinion that can be urged to his real disadvantage. In short, he is a negative character, which can stand the brunt of positive attacks.

What shall we say to appearances that are so contradictory? They shew the difficulty of drawing general conclusions, with regard to our conduct in life. Men must act in some degree from their predominant disposition, and from their accidental situation in society. My observations thus far have supposed that these two characters; the one remarkable for sobriety and reserve, the other for jollity and loquaciousness were alike void of superior understanding or attainments. They both gain more estimation than they deserve, but for different reasons. The popularity that each of them sustains would be lost, if they were reciprocally to act the part, the other had assumed.

The subject shall be once more introduced.

CHARACTER OF THE FRENCH.

From Sherlock's Letters.

IN England the French have few friends. But they have *one*; and *that* one am I. They could, not, I acknowledge, have a feebler advocate; but while I have a tongue to speak, or a pen to write, wherever I go I'll do them justice.

Let every man who *knows* that nation speak of it as he found it; if he lived in their intimacy for years (as I did) and if he found them ill natured, ill-mannered, treacherous, and cowardly, let him speak his mind. I quarrel with no man who judges for himself, and who speaks the truth. But let the indulgence I grant, be granted to me again; and let me be permitted to tell the world, that, however other men may have found them, I found them good-humored, good-natured, brave, polished, frank, and friendly.

They *were* my friends, faithful and just to me;
But Brutus says they are *perfidious*;
And Brutus is an honorable man.
I speak not to disprove what Brutus spoke;
But here I am *to speak what I do know.*

I found them all animated with a desire to please, and always ready to do me every service in their power. I owe them a thousand obligations. I had faults; they corrected them: I wanted knowledge; they informed me: I was rough; they softened me: I was sick; they visited me: I was vain; they flattered me: I had need of council; they gave me the best advice: every man has need of agreeable company; and every man may be sure to find it in France.

OF THE LADIES OF FRANCE.

By the same.

WHEN a French lady comes into a room, the first thing that strikes you is, that she walks better, holds herself better, has her head and feet better dressed, her cloaths better fancied, and better put on, than any woman you have ever seen.

When she talks, she is the art of pleasing personified. Her eyes, her lips, her words, her gestures, are all prepossessing. Her language is the language of amiableness; her accents are the accents of grace. She embellishes a trifle; she interests upon a nothing; she softens a contradiction; she takes off the insipidness of a compliment by turning it elegantly; and, when she has a mind, she sharpens and polishes the point of an epigram better than all the women in the world.

Her eyes sparkle with spirit; the most delightful sallies flash from her fancy; in telling a story she is inimitable; the motions of her body, and the accents of her tongue, are equally genteel and easy; an equable flow of softened sprightliness keeps her constantly good-humoured and cheerful; and the only objects of her life are to please, and to be pleased.

Her vivacity may *sometimes* approach to folly; but perhaps it is not in her moments of folly she is least interesting and agreeable. English women have many points of superiority over the French; the French are superior to them in many others. I have mentioned some of those points in other places. Here I shall only say, there is a particular idea in which no woman in the world can compare with a French woman; it is in the power of *intellectual irritation*. She will draw wit out of a fool.

EXTRACT FROM "AMERICAN ESSAYS."

ON EMIGRATION.

Cælum non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt;
——— Quod petis, hic est,
Est ulubris; animus si te non deficit æquus.

HORACE, Epist. xi. lib. 1.

IT is evidently wise and prudent in the *Scotch* and *Irish*, particularly those of them who are poor; as also in the inhabitants of any other country, alike circumstanced, with respect to excessive population, and poverty, and the consequent difficulty of acquiring lands, or any other property, and many of them of procuring even the necessaries of life, to *migrate* to countries more fertile, and less populous; where, with a moderate share of industry, they may probably soon become lords of soil, and enjoy a plenty of all the necessaries of life, with new and pleasing sensations of independence, and consequence, never felt in the depressed and servile state of the poor in Europe: Yet it is by no means prudent, or commendable, in the present inhabitants of the eastern States, who in general enjoy all the necessaries, and many of the conveniencies of life, with health, and a competent share of liberty and independence, to remove into the remote interior country, *or Western territory*, with the vain hope of meliorating their fortunes or circumstances.

As I am one of those who have been induced to quit my native soil, with the hope of reaping some advantage by the exchange; and having seen many different parts of America, from Nova-Scotia eastward to West-Florida, I am induced to draw this conclusion, That the new countries, which owe their population to emigrations principally from the eastern States, are more indebted to the fertility of *human invention*, than to the extraordinary fecundity of their soil, or any other natural advantages; and though from a comparative view of the state of the poor in Europe, I have reason to believe, that they would make a very eligible exchange, in taking the chance of any situation within the boundaries of the United States; yet I must insist that I have yet seen *no country* where I conceive the *industrious* inhabitants of the New-England States, particularly the mechanics and farmers, could remove with the probable prospect of greater real advantages, *taken in the aggregate*, than they enjoy at home: It is therefore of the last importance, especially to those who have families, that they consider, and deliberate well, before they conclude to resign their old friends, their near and dear relations—their healthy, cheap, plentiful, and *happy* country, and proceed to the serious, momentous, and often ruinous business of *plucking up stakes*.

So powerful is the attachment of mankind to the place of their birth, that however poor, barren, cold, comfortless, and ungrateful their native country, yet few men emigrate without regret.—Go to the inhabitants of Nova-Zembla, and describe the rich luxuriant fruits, the fertile fields, warm suns, and constant vegetation of the tropic climes; yet, will they scorn them all, nor dare to burst their *arctic* bounds, but fondly hug their cruel *pole*, and patient delve their stubborn soil; there they contented toil a fruitless, tedious, half-year's day; and under fierce relentless skies, on beds of hard, eternal ice, wrapped in their *frigid zone*, freeze, sleep, and starve an equal night—few their enjoyments, and their troubles few—they know no luxury, and feel no gout.

Yet as the mind of man is informed, dilates, and expands, so his wants and desires encrease; to gratify which, he ventures, though reluctantly, abroad; still the dupe of early prejudices; he is frequently led by them into many ridiculous extravagancies; muses on the pleasures he enjoyed at home; forgets the rubs; and if he meets a disappointment, often runs home, like stricken children to their mothers, and like them often meets another scourging.

The hardy, brave, and yet unconquered *Swiss*, hired into foreign service, meet dangers, and death, in any shape, with steady front; yet there are certain tunes peculiar to their country, which are not permitted in France to be played in those regiments; their native music having been repeatedly found to produce very serious consequences, by kindling such an ardent and irresistable desire to return to their own homes, and beloved household gods, that no flattery, or threats, bribes or punishments, could prevent melancholy, mutinies, and desertions.

Mr. KOLBEN relates, "*That one of the Dutch Governors at the* "*Cape of Good Hope, brought up an* Hottentot *according to the fashions* "*and customs of the Europeans—teaching him several languages, and* "*instructing him fully in the principles of the Christian religion; at the* "*same time cloathing him handsomely, and treating him in all respects* "*as a person for whom he had an high esteem, and whom he designed for* "*some beneficial and honorable employment. The Governour afterwards* "*sent him to Batavia, where he was employed under the Commissary for* "*some time, till that gentleman died—and then he returned to the Cape* "*of Good Hope. But having paid a visit to the Hottentots of his ac-* "*quaintance, he threw off all his fine cloaths, bundled them up, laid* "*them at the Governor's feet, and desired he might be allowed to renounce* "*his christianity, and to live and die in the religion and customs of his* "*ancestors; only requesting that he might be permitted to keep the hanger* "*and collar which he wore, in token of his regard to his benefactor.—* "*While the Governor was deliberating upon this, scarce believing the* "*fellow to be in earnest, the young Hottentot took the opportunity of* "*running away, and never afterwards came near the Cape, thinking* "*himself happy, that he had exchanged his European dress for a sheep-skin,* "*and that he had abandoned the hopes of preferment for the society of his* "*relations and countrymen.*"

"*The English East-India Company made the like experiment upon* "*two young Hottentots, with no better success.*" See MILLAR, on the Distinction of Ranks in Society, chap. iii. page 119, quar. edit.

Hence we see the almost invinceable attachment of mankind to the place of their birth, of which few feel the power and operation till deprived of the enjoyment; this privation we find is sometimes insupportable under the most favorable circumstances, as in the case of the Hottentots; it is therefore natural to suppose, it would not be more tolerable in cases of difficulties and disappointments, which all are sure to meet with, who are so unfortunate as to emigrate from polished life and manners, into new, rude, remote, uncultivated countries.

E. C.

MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES.

[LONDON, MARCH 30.] The revolution which has taken place at Geneva is the more remarkable, as it is the first time these 35 years, that the whole republic have, with one consent, made and agreed to any laws, nor was there ever a greater day of rejoicing than the 13th ult. On the 7th the Senate laid before the council of 200, the laws required, which were approved of, *in globo*, by the majority of 138 against 9. On the 13th, they were carried to the Council-General, and approved of by 1327 votes against 54.

The moment the scrunity was declared at the Cathedral, a general acclamation of joy was heard. They afterwards went to the town-house, where all parties embraced each other. The Senate was

ſurrounded by 400 youths in uniforms, and three diſcharges made from one hundred pieces of cannon. In the evening there was a general illumination, and the chief club of the old repreſentatives finiſhed it by giving a ſupper to the principal magiſtrates.

The affairs of Poland remain in the ſame ſtate of uncertainty as they have done for ſome time paſt.

Diſpatches have been received from Gibraltar, which were brought over in the Active Cutter, arrived off the Start. They are dated the 10th inſt. and contain an account of two Barbary corſairs having paſſed that place with an American bark in tow; the corſairs were under jury-maſts, and that proviſions were very plenty and reaſonable.

Extract of a letter from Paris, March 16.

"The Prince of Naſſau ſet off for Madrid on the 5th. charged, it is thought with ſome commiſſion from the Empreſs to the King of Spain, he being the only Monarch whoſe mediation Ruſſia has not rejected. The expedition of the Prince of Naſſau is extraordinary; for in leſs than forty days he will have paid his court to five Sovereigns. He ſtopped three days at Warſaw, five at Vienna, ſeven here, in eight days he will be at Madrid, and thinks on returning to Peterſburgh before the 8th of May. It is thought that the King of Spain, who, when Prince of Aſturias, had a great regard for him, will appoint him a Lieutenant-General, two of his Cadets, Camp-Marſhals, having already been raiſed to that rank. He will likewiſe have the order of the golden fleece, which was promiſed by the late King. Though ſtill young, his hair, owing to fatigue, begins to become grey, but he is in good health, and will certainly be in the Black ſea before the month of June, ready to face the Captain-Pacha again."

COMMERCIAL.

The ſilks imported from Piedmont into Great Britain, in the courſe of laſt year, amounted to not leſs than two hundred thouſand pounds.—Piedmont and Bologna furniſh the very fineſt wrought ſilk in Europe. One grand advantage which we have in the commerce of the Levant, is, that the Sicilian ſilks are confined to a particular ſeaſon of the year, whereas thoſe of the Levant are brought at all times. The January caravans are very richly loaded with the very fineſt ſilks; thoſe of February and March contain an inferior ſort. The Dutch, in the courſe of laſt year, imported ſeven thouſand bales of ſilk from Caſſembazzar in the Eaſt-Indies. This place furniſhed, in the whole, that year, upwards of twenty thouſand bales; each bale weighed one hundred pounds. The French, in the ſame year, imported into Lyons ſix thouſand bales of ſilk, ſixteen hundred of which came from Sicily.

MR. NECKAR,

During the time of his retirement, wrote a very excellent work on the importance of religious opinions, calculated to ſtem the torrent of infidelity which ſo generally prevails in Europe. "It appears to me, "ſays he in the introduction, "that there are intereſts which may be conſidered as patriotic by intelligent and feeling beings; and while the inhabitants of the ſame country, and the ſubjects of the ſame prince, employ themſelves diligently in one common plan of defence, the citizens of the world ought to be inceſſantly anxious to give every new and poſſible ſupport to thoſe exalted opinions on which the true greatneſs of their exiſtence is founded; which preſerves the imagination from that frightful ſpectacle of an exiſtence without origin, of action without liberty, and futurity without hope. Thus after having, as I think, proved myſelf a citizen of France by my adminiſtration, as well as my writings, I wiſh to unite myſelf to a fraternity ſtill more extended, that of the whole human race; it is thus, without diſperſing our ſentiments, we may be able, nevertheleſs, to communicate ourſelves a great way off, and enlarge, in ſome meaſure, the limits of our circle; glory be to our thinking faculties for it! to that ſpiritual portion of ourſelves which can take in the paſt, dart into futurity and intimately aſſociate itſelf with the deſtiny of men of all countries, and of all ages. Without doubt a veil is thrown over the greater part of thoſe truths to which our curioſity would willingly attain; but thoſe which a beneficent God has permitted us to ſee, are amply ſufficient for our guide and inſtruction; and we cannot for a continuance divert our attention without a ſpecies of flothful negligence, and a total indifference to ſuperior intereſts of man. How little is every thing indeed when put in competition with thoſe meditations which give to our exiſtence a new extent, and which in detaching us from the duſt of the earth, ſeem to unite our ſouls to an infinity of ſpace. and our duration of a day to the eternity of time! Above all it is for you to determine, who have ſenſibility, who feel the want of a Supreme Being, and who ſeek to find in Him that ſupport ſo neceſſary to your weakneſs; that defender, and that aſſurance, without which painful inquietude will be perpetually tormenting you, and troubling thoſe ſoft tender affections which conſtitute your happineſs. The whole of this excellent work deſerves a very attentive peruſal.

[LONDON-DERRY, MARCH 17.] It is with the ſincereſt pleaſure we inform the public, and eſpecially the citizens of Derry, that in conſequence of the laudable exertions of the corporation, to forward the erection of a bridge over the river Foyle, Mr. Thompſon and Mr. Cox, of Boſton, in New-England, arrived in this city yeſterday. They are ſtrongly recommended for their knowledge in bridge building: and, we underſtand that they entertain not the ſmalleſt doubt of being able to conſtruct a bridge over our river, upon the ſame plan of thoſe which they lately erected near Boſton.

The corporation and citizens of Derry have now an opportunity of accompliſhing a meaſure of the greateſt public utility. Every exertion ſhould, therefor, be uſed to arrange matters for beginning a buſineſs, which promiſes to encreaſe the trade and proſperity of the city of Derry, and the adjacent country.

March 24. Since our laſt the engineers who lately arrived here from America, have ſounded the river acroſs at the Ferry-quay, and we have authority in ſaying, that it is their decided opinion, a wooden bridge, on the conſtruction of thoſe lately erected near Boſton, is very practicable at ſaid place.

The late KING of PRUSSIA's Character of GEORGE II.

GEORGE was firm in his purpoſes, more covetous than economical, capable of labour, but deſtitute of patience, violent, brave, and governing England by the intereſt of his electorate, yet too little maſter of himſelf to direct a nation whoſe idol is liberty.

Character of the KING of PORTUGAL, by the ſame.

THIS country, in the year 1740, made no figure in Europe. Don Juan was remarkable only for his extraordinary paſſion for the ceremonies of the Church. By the Pope's brief, he obtained the right of having a Patriarch, and by a ſecond brief, that of ſaying maſs. Eccleſiaſtical functions formed his whole delight; his buildings were convents, his ſoldiers monks, and his miſtreſſes nuns.

The character of CZAR PETER, and of the RUSSIANS, is deſcribed as forcible in fewer words.

"THE Czar operated on the Ruſſians like aqua fortis on iron."

The political rank of HOLLAND is alſo painted by a ſingle ſtroke.

AFTER England comes Holland, which takes its direction from the former, like a ſmall ſhallop from a ſhip of war to which it is attached."

His Pruſſian Majeſty thus characteriſes the POLES.

"POLAND is in a ſtate of perpetual anarchy. The great families have all of them ſeparate intereſts, and all preferring themſelves to their country, they agree only in ſeverity towards their vaſſals, whom they treat more like beaſts than human creatures. The Poles are vain, inſolent in good fortune, ſervile in adverſity; they ſtick at nothing to amaſs money, which having obtained unjuſtly, they ſpend it prodigally; as fickle in their judgments as frivolous in their taſtes, their meaſures are adopted capriciouſly, and abandoned without reaſon. The unſteadineſs of their characters is continually plunging them into difficulties. They have laws; but no one obſerves them, for want of coercive authority."

The KING's character of HIMSELF, in a letter to Voltaire, 1737.

MY dear Ceſarion has given too advantageous an account of me. How fortunate it is to have ſuch a friend! But allow me to undeceive you, and to trace my own character in a few words. I have but little merit and little knowledge, but I have an extraordinary love for both, and an inexhauſtible fund of eſteem for perſons of diſtinguiſhed virtue. Together with theſe qualities, I feel myſelf capable of all that conſtancy which true friendſhip requires; with judgment ſufficient to do juſtice to your great talents, but not enough to hinder me from writing bad verſes."

AMERICA.

MARYLAND.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Old-Town, to his friend here, dated May 6.

[FREDERICK-TOWN, MARCH 20.] "It pleaſes me much to find the Patowmack navigation in ſo flouriſhing a ſtate. I arrived here, on my way to the weſtern country. This place puts me very much in mind of a ſea-port, ſo many ſailors, or rather boatmen, in their ſhort jackets and caps, walking the ſtreets, and the maſters running up and down, diſpoſing of their cargoes of rum, wine, &c. and purchaſing wheat and bacon to take down again. Since the navigation of the Patowmack is ſo far advanced, we have great reaſon to hope the work will be fully compleated, and then the country about the head of Patowmack will flouriſh amazingly."

Extract of a letter from Berlin, a town on the Patowmack River, on the Maryland tract, dated May 21.

MAY 27. "A few days ago paſſed by this town, five boats, from Opequan, the South-Branch, and Old-Town, together with a large raft of pine plank, which floated from above 100 miles back, with ſeveral horſes on it.—One of the boats belonging to Mr. Joſeph Sprigg, of Old-Town, came from that place with 24 hogſheads of tobacco to Watt's Branch, near the Great-Falls, in one day and an half, reckoned to be 180 miles."

[BALTIMORE, JUNE 2.] Laſt Saturday morning, (at a Villa in the vicinity of this town) Mr. John Dublain, a gentleman from Cape Francois, being in a ſtate of inſanity, put a period to his exiſtence, by ſhooting himſelf through the head with a muſket.

[PHILADELPHIA, JUNE 10.] The wonderful exertions of this country in œconomy and induſtry afford the moſt heartfelt ſatisfaction to the patriots in every ſituation: Men in public ſtations in almoſt every State are cloathing themſelves in the manufactures of the country—the old branches are daily improving—new ones introduced—and *domeſtic* manufactures extending beyond any thing ever known heretofore. This ſilent progreſs of induſtry in this latter way has been evidenced by the wonderful ſales of *ſpinning wheel irons* in this city, which in the year laſt paſt, in two ſtores only, have amounted to 5860 ſets. It is with high pleaſure we add, that a great number of wheels have been ſhipped in the coaſters to the ſhores of the Cheſapeak.

It is ſuppoſed that the great reduction in the prime coſt of cotton goods in Europe is owing to the infant eſtabliſhments in that line in this country, which the European manufacturers naturally wiſh by all means to diſcourage. If they will maintain a fair rivalſhip of this kind we cannot blame them, but let it ſpur us to due exertions.

Laſt week John Lucas, Eſq. of Boſton, ſubſcribed five ſhares to the manufactory in this city, and the legiſlature of the State have ſubſcribed one hundred ſhares. The principal objects of attention have been cottons dyed and printed, fuſtians, jeans, denims, cottonades, waiſtcoat patterns and fœderal ribs, all of which have a cotton filling and flaxen warp.

The manufactory of *Taylors threads* has been attempted here, and executed with great perfection by three very valuable citizens of the ſociety of "Friends." Their operations are principally by machines.

We hear that five additional paper-mills are now erecting in this State, and that the company of paper hanging printers from France have commenced their eſtabliſhment near this city.

INFORMATION FOR WEAVERS.

An improvement on the weavers ſhuttle has lately been made in Scotland. Four friction wheels, ſomewhat thicker than a dollar, are inſerted in it ſo far, as juſt to enable the ſhuttle to run upon the projecting parts with great eaſe and velocity. The axis of the wheels is made of wood, and the wheels of *caſt* ſteel. Two of the wheels are inſerted at one end and two at the other end of the ſhuttle, which makes it run very ſteady. Cotton cloths of ten quarters, and of great fineneſs, have been wove with this ſhuttle, which works with great eaſe with a fly.

Many things (ſays a correſpondent) formerly ſuppoſed to be abſolutely *neceſſary* to maintain authority, and to command reſpect, are now found to be *unneceſſary*, or wholly nugatory. Swearing was once deemed neceſſary to govern a ſhip's crew, and laced cloths were once thought neceſſary to procure reſpect from the common people. There is now an end of both theſe abſurd opinions. Sailors are beſt governed where there is leaſt ſwearing, and the common people honor liberal manners in a gentleman, much more than ever they did gold or ſilver lace. The ſame obſervation will, we hope, ſoon be applied to TITLES. The United States have rejected them, wiſely prefering rather to raiſe the people to the ſtandard of truth and propriety, than to ſtoop to the abſurd notions of any part of them. It is an inſult to the new government, as well as to the citizens of the United States, to ſuppoſe that titles are neceſſary to the ſplendor of the one, or to the obedience of the other. It would be more rational to preſent our Chief Magiſtrates with a piece of gingerbread, or a rattle, when we addreſs them, than with a high ſounding title. Away then with Highneſs, Excellency, Eſquire, and Honorable, in its poſitive, comparative, and ſuperlative degrees, and let our rulers hereafter, when they ſee them, ſuppoſe that they are only intended to affront them.

Extract of a letter from a perſon of experience and judgment in the planting and ſettling a new country, dated the 15th of April, at Cooper's Town, on Lake Oſſego.

"I think it would be adviſeable to take effectual ſteps towards erecting pot-aſh works in your neighbourhood, (on the lands in Pennſylvania, near the ſtate line and New-York government) not only for your own advantage, but that of the ſettlers. The people here aſk for clearing our heavieſt timber'd lands, four pounds per acre, and find themſelves—or to have the aſhes for their pay. But thoſe who live convenient to pot-aſh works chooſe to pay the above price, rather than give up the aſhes. So that it is reduced to a certainty, that the aſhes will pay for clearing any land in this country."

In order to ſhew the extreme danger of truſting all the legiſlative power of a State to a ſingle repreſentation, we beg leave to tranſcribe a few ſentences from a letter, written by the Honorable JOHN ADAMS, Eſq. Vice-Preſident of the United States, to one of his friends in North-Carolina, who requeſted him to favor him with a plan of government for that State, in the year 1776. This illuſtrious citizen, who is ſecond to no man in America in an inflexible attachment to the liberties of this country, and to republican forms of government, writes as follow:

"*I think a people cannot be* long free, *nor ever happy, whoſe government is in one Aſſembly. My reaſons for this opinion are as follow.*

1. "*A ſingle Aſſembly is liable to all the vices, follies and frailties of an individual, ſubject to fits of humour: Starts of paſſions,* flights of enthuſiaſm: partialities of prejudice, and conſequently productive of haſty reſults and abſurd judgments. All theſe errors ought to be corrected, and defects ſupplied by ſome controuling power.*

2. "*A ſingle Aſſembly is apt to be avaricious, and in time will not ſcruple to exempt itſelf from burdens, which it will lay, without compunction, upon its conſtituents.*

3. "*A ſingle Aſſembly is apt to grow ambitious, and after a time will not heſitate to vote itſelf perpetual. This was one fault of the long parliament, but more remarkably of Holland, whoſe Aſſembly firſt voted themſelves from* annual *to* ſeptennial, *then for* life, *and after a courſe of years, that all vacancies happening by death, or otherwiſe, ſhould be filled by* themſelves, *without any application to conſtituents at all.*

4. "*Becauſe a ſingle Aſſembly poſſeſſed of all the powers of government would make arbitrary laws for their own intereſt, and adjudge all controverſies in their own favor.*"

If any thing could be neceſſary upon this ſubject, after ſuch an authority, we might here add, that Monteſquieu, Hartington, Milton, Addiſon, Price, Bolingbroke, and others, the wiſeſt ſtateſmen, and the greateſt friends to liberty in the world, have left teſtimonies upon record of the extreme folly and danger of a people being governed by a ſingle legiſlature.

* *A Committee of the Convention, which formed the Conſtitution of Pennſylvania, publiſhed in the Pennſylvania Packet of October 15, 1776, as an apology for one of their Ordinances that was thought to be arbitrary and unjuſt, that it was paſſed "when the minds of the Convention were agitated, and their paſſions inflamed."*

SKETCH of PROCEEDINGS of CONGRESS.

In the HOUSE *of* REPRESENTATIVES *of the* UNITED STATES.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 10, 1789.

In committee of the whole, on the bill to regulate the collection of the impoſt.

Mr. TRUMBULL in the chair.

On motion of Mr. MADISON, a clauſe was inſerted, which provides, "that there ſhall be a ſurveyor at each of the ports of "delivery only," excepting certain ports to be enumerated.

The motion of Mr. AMES, which was withdrawn yeſterday, was again brought forward by that Gentleman—and adopted as a clauſe, to be inſerted in the bill—It provides, That every maſter or other perſon, having charge or command of a ſhip or veſſel bound to any port of the United States, ſhall be obliged to produce, on demand, to any officer, or perſon authoriſed for the purpoſe, two manifeſts, ſpecifying in words, the true contents of the cargo on board ſuch ſhip or veſſel; one of which manifeſts the officer is to endorſe, and return to the Captain, noting the time when the ſame was produced to him. The other he is to tranſmit to the naval officer of the port where the ſaid veſſel is bound to.

Several other propoſitions were produced, and debated; but not accepted.

The committee then roſe, and the Houſe adjourned.

THURSDAY, JUNE 11.

In committee of the whole, on the bill to regulate the collection of the impoſt.

Mr. TRUMBULL in the chair.

Mr. PARKER moved to inſert the following clauſe in the bill, viz. "Provided that no ſhip or veſſel, not belonging wholly to a citizen or citizens of the United States, ſhall be permitted to enter or unlade at any other, than the following ports, viz.

This clauſe, the Gentleman obſerved, was neceſſary to hold up a preference to our own navigation—to ſecure to the citizens of the States excluſively, the coaſting trade; it would conduce more effectually to ſecuring the revenue, and was a proviſion ſanctioned by the practice of other commercial countries.

Several other obſervations were made, when Mr. FITZSIMONS propoſed, that the clauſe ſhould be amended by adding—"nor ſhall any ſhip or veſſel from India, China, or beyond the Cape of Good Hope, and bound to the United States, enter, or unlade, but at the following ports, viz.

This clauſe, with the amendment, occaſioned conſiderable diſcuſſion: In oppoſition to the firſt, it was obſerved, that the reſtriction could not with propriety be confined to foreign veſſels, on account of ſmuggling, as our own citizens, poſſeſſing ſuperior advantages for that buſineſs, would more probably evade the laws than ſtrangers: That it would operate altogether in favour of thoſe States who employed no foreign ſhipping; and as ſufficient had been done to encourage our own navigation, it was to be expected that the motion would be withdrawn.—With reſpect to the clauſe reſtricting veſſels from India, it was ſaid, that it would tend to the creating monopolies—to give an undue advantage to particular poſts, to their aggrandizement and that of individuals reſiding in or near ſuch ports, while it would deprive thoſe who reſided at a diſtance from them, and whoſe capitals were limited, from adventuring in thoſe voyages, as was now the caſe.

In ſupport of the clauſe, it was obſerved, That foreigners could with propriety be reſtricted from entering thoſe ports, which they had not been accuſtomed to frequent—and for this reaſon no injury would be done to the perſons reſiding at ſuch places—but to circumſcribe our own navigation within narrower limits than it had been uſed to, would be productive of extenſive ill conſequence—it will cut off a great proportion of the trade of the United States, and in a manner depopulate the ſea coaſt: That experience of other countries was in favour of reſtricting foreigners to narrower limits than our own citizens; they could not be ſuppoſed to be actuated by any motives of attachment to the government or country, to induce a compliance with the revenue laws.

With reſpect to the reſtriction on India ſhips, it was ſaid, That goods from that country were more eaſily ſmuggled than any other: That this reſtriction was of the laſt importance to the revenue, as one boat load of India goods, would pay a greater impoſt than a whole cargo from the Weſt-Indies: That it would be impolitic to ſuffer this trade to be carried on from ports favorably

situated for smuggling; and that it had been found necessary to restrict British India ships to the port of London, to prevent frauds upon the revenue.

Many other observations were made—when the question on the amendment proposed by Mr. FITZSIMONS being taken, it passed in the affirmative.

The vote being then taken on the whole, it passed also in the affirmative.

The ports to be established by this clause are not yet named.

Further progress was made in the bill, and several amendments agreed to.

The committee then rose, and the House adjourned.

FRIDAY, JUNE 12.

The House formed into a committee of the whole, on the bill to regulate the collection of the impost on goods, wares, and merchandize imported into the United States.

Mr. TRUMBULL in the chair.

Considerable progress was made in the bill this day, by passing many of the clauses, chief of them with amendments—The committee was proceeding in the discussion, when a message from the Senate was announced—The Secretary then appeared on the floor of the House, and informed, that he had it in command from the Senate, to inform the honorable House, that they had concurred with amendments, in the bill for laying an impost on goods, wares, and merchandize, imported into the United States—and hoped for the concurrence of the honorable House in those amendments—He then delivered in the bill, with a draft of the amendments, and withdrew.—These amendments were read to the House—and then the Chairman of the Committee having resumed his place, further progress was made in discussing the bill.

At three o'clock the committee rose, and the House adjourned till to-morrow.

The following are the Amendments *to the New Constitution, propesed by the Hon. Mr.* Maddison—*as mentioned in our last—viz.*

RESOLVED, That the following amendments ought to be proposed by Congress, to the legislatures of the States, to become, if ratified by three fourths thereof, part of the Constitution of the United States.

First. That there be prefixed to the Constitution a declaration—That all power is originally vested in, and consequently derived from the people.

That government is instituted, and ought to be exercised for the benefit of the people; which consists in the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the right of acquiring and using property, and generally of pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety.

That the people have an indubitable, unalienable, and indefeasible right to reform or change their government, whenever it be found adverse or inadequate to the purposes of its institution.

Secondly. That in article 1st, section 2, clause 3, these words be struck out, to wit, "The number of representatives shall not "exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at "least one representative, and until such enumeration shall be "made," And that in place thereof be inserted these words, to wit, "After the first actual enumeration, there shall be one re- "presentative for every thirty thousand, until the number shall "amount to after which the proportion shall be so regula- "ted by Congress, that the number shall never be less than "nor more than but each State shall after the first enumera- "tion, have at least two representatives; and prior thereto"

Thirdly. That in article 1st, section 6, clause 1, there be added to the end of the first sentence, these words, to wit:—"But no "law varying the compensation last ascertained shall operate be- "fore the next ensuing election of representatives."

Fourthly. That in article 1st, section 9, between clauses 3 and 4, be inserted these clauses, to wit: The civil rights of none shall be abridged on account of religious belief or worship, nor shall any national religion be established, nor shall the full and equal rights of conscience be in any manner, or on any pretext infringed.

The people shall not be deprived or abridged of the right to speak, to write, or to publish their sentiments; and the freedom of the press, as one of the great bulwarks of liberty, shall be inviolable.

The people shall not be restrained from peaceably assembling and consulting for their common good; nor from applying to the legislature by petitions, or remonstrances for redress of their grievances.

The right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed; a well armed, and well regulated militia being the best security of a free country: but no person religiously scrupulous of bearing arms, shall be obliged to render military service in person.

No soldier shall in time of peace be quartered in any house, without consent of the owner; nor at any time, but in a manner warranted by law.

No person shall be subject, except in cases of impeachment, to more than one punishment, or one trial for the same offence; nor shall be compelled to be a witness against himself; nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor be obliged to relinquish his property, where it may be necessary for public use, without a just compensation.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

The rights of the people to be secured in their persons, their houses, their papers, and their other property from all unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated by warrants issued without probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation or not particularly describing the places to be searched, or the persons or things to be seized.

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, to be informed of the cause and nature of the accusation, to be confronted with his accusers, and the witnesses against him; to have a compulsary process for obtaining witnesses in his favor; and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

The exceptions here or elsewhere in the Constitution, made in favor of particular rights, shall not be so construed as to diminish the just importance of other rights retained by the people; or as to enlarge the powers delegated by the Constitution; but either as actual limitations of such powers, or as inserted merely for greater caution.

Fifthly. That in article 1st, section 10, between clauses 1 and 2, be inserted this clause, to wit:

No State shall violate the equal rights of conscience, or the freedom of the press, or the trial by jury in criminal cases.

Sixthly. That in article 3d, section 2, be annexed to the end of clause 2d, these words, to wit: but no appeal to such court will be allowed where the value in controversy shall not amount to dollars: nor shall any fact triable by jury, according to the course of common law, be otherwise re-examinable than may consist with the principles of common law.

Seventhly. That in article 3d, section 2, the third clause be struck out, and in its place be inserted the clauses following.

The trial of all crimes (except in cases of impeachment, and cases arising in the land or naval forces, or the militia when on actual service in time of war or public danger,) shall be by an impartial jury of freeholders of the vicinage, with the requisite of unanimity for conviction, of the right of challenge, and other accustomed requisites; and in all crimes punishable with loss of life or member, presentment or indictment by a grand jury, shall be an essential preliminary, provided that in cases of crimes committed within any county which may be in possession of an enemy, or in which a general insurrection may prevail, the trial may by law be authorised in some other county of the same State, as near as may be to the seat of the offence.

In cases of crimes committed not within any county, the trial may be in such county as the laws shall have prescribed. In suits at common law between man and man, the trial by jury as one of the best securities to the rights of the people, ought to remain inviolate.

Eighthly. That immediately after article 6th, be inserted, as article 7th, the clauses following to wit:

The powers delegated by this Constitution, and appropriated to the departments to which they are respectively distributed: So that the legislative department shall never exercise the powers vested in the executive or judicial; nor the executive exercise the powers vested in the legislative or judicial; nor the judicial exercise the powers vested in the legislative or executive departments.

The powers not delegated by this Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States, respectively.

Ninthly That article 7th, be numbered as article 8th.

NEW-YORK, JUNE 13, 1789.

Extract of a letter from Virginia, dated June 1, 1789.

"I never supposed Congress would hurry over the objects committed to their deliberations. They are too important to be acted upon without being discussed; and they are too numerous and intricate to be discussed in a moment. But when I make these remarks, I do not mean to insinuate that it is not possible Congress may not in some instances attend too minutely to the detail of business. I know that the habit of discussion, like al other habits, has an imperceptible effect, and that men fall into the snare before they think of it. Those who discuss a great deal upon important subjects forget to drop a temper of discussion when they are upon points less interesting. You ask me if the patience of people this way is not exhausted, that so much time has elapsed, and so little business accomplished?—I am happy to assure you, that people do not yet complain, as they are disposed to make allowances for the difficulties that attend the first organization of the government. But how long this patience will continue is uncertain. Impatience is a weakness to which the mind of man is extremely liable; and it may, no doubt, be discovered in this as in many other instances where it ought not to be."

"Were mankind but as *innocent*, as *blind*, they would in their fondness for fashionable follies, luxuries, and extravagancies, compleatly resemble the *lamb* described by the poet:

The lamb thy riot dooms to bleed to day,
Had he thy reason, would he skip and play?
Pleas'd to the last, he crops the flowery food;
And *licks* the *hand* that's *rais'd to shed his blood.*

The cure of evils that have taken deep root in a community requires time, patience, and resolution.—Complaints are unavailing—and perhaps in no country is it more difficult to select proper subjects, on which a general odium can be fixed with propriety, than in America: Every man would therefore do well to lay his hand on his heart, and say, "IS IT I"—for a general reformation, and universal happiness, must begin with INDIVIDUALS.

While we are obliged to delve and toil to make remittances to the merchants of Britain for manufactures, many of which we pay for, at 50 *per cent.* more than we could furnish them from among ourselves, we are but a little removed from a state of tributary slavery.

The young Gentlemen under the care of Mr. HARDIE, will be examined on the Greek and Latin languages, on TUESDAY next, in his school-room, near the Baptist Church, in Gold-Street. The examination will begin at 10 o'clock, forenoon, and at 4, afternoon, when their parents and guardians, and the friends of literature are earnestly requested to attend.

THEATRICALS.——John-Street.

Last night the *School for Soldiers*, an elegant, tender, sentimental, and well conducted Dramatic Entertainment, written by a citizen of the United States, was performed, amidst repeated bursts of applause, to a crowded house. The principal characters were extremely well supported by Messrs *Henry*, *Hallam*, and *Harper*—while Mrs. *Henry* and Mrs. *Harper*, added greatly to the interest of the action, and often dissolved the audience in tears. A more profound attention was never known to be given to any piece through the whole performance. A circumstance, which indicated the real interest which the gallery took in the fate of the Deserter, ought not to be omitted: as soon as the soldiers on the stage demonstrated their joy, by huzzaing, for the pardon which was announced to have been obtained from the late Commander in Chief for the Deserter, the audience in the gallery spontaneously gave the same proof of sensibility and satisfaction.

In the Farce of *Who's the Dupe*, Mr. *Morris* distinguished himself—and the whole performance was unusually correct and spirited.

LITERARY ARTICLE.

This Day is published, (Price 2s6)

And to be sold by BERRY & ROGERS, Hanover-Square, by ROBERT HODGE, Corner of King and Queen-Street, and by the EDITOR hereof;

TWENTY-SIX
LETTERS,
UPON *INTERESTING SUBJECTS,*
RESPECTING THE REVOLUTION OF AMERICA.
Written in Holland in the Year M, DCC, LXXX.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY *JOHN ADAMS,*
WHILE HE WAS SOLE MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY FROM THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
FOR NEGOCIATING A PEACE, AND A TREATY OF COMMERCE, WITH GREAT-BRITAIN.

Never before published.

ADVERTISEMENT.
Prefixed to the Letters.

DR. CALKOEN, an eminent Civilian at Amsterdam, to whom these letters were written, composed, by the means of them, a comparison between the revolt of the Low Countries from Spain, and the revolution of the United States of America; in which he concluded, upon the whole, that "as it was a kind of miracle that the former succeeded, it would be a greater "miracle still if the latter should not."—This composition was read by him to a society of gentlemen of letters, about forty in number, who met sometimes at Amsterdam; and by its means just sentiments of American affairs began to spread in that country, and to prevail over the continual misrepresentations of certain gazettes and emissaries—The publications of General HOWE *and* BURGOYNE, *in vindication of themselves, were procured to be translated into French, and propogated, together with many other pamphlets, which assisted in the same design, and contributed to excite the citizens to those applications, by petition to the regencies of the several cities, which finally procured the acknowledgement of American Independency, the Treaty of Commerce, and a Loan of Money.*

JOHN ADAMS.

The first of these Letters contains a concise account of American Affairs before, during, and after the commencement of the late war. Dr. CALKOEN's *propositions* and *enquiries* are as follow.

1. "To prove, by striking facts, that an implacable hatred and aversion reigns throughout America."

2. "To shew that this is general, at least so general, that the tories are in so small a number, and of such little force, that they are counted as nothing."

3. "To shew that America, notwithstanding the war, daily increases in strength and force."

4. "Whether America, in and of itself, by means of purchasing or exchanging the productions of the several provinces, would be able to continue the war for six, eight, or ten years, even if they were entirely deprived of the trade with Europe; or their allies, exhausted by the war, and forced to make a separate peace, were to leave them?"

5. "Whether a voluntary revolt of any one or more of the States in the American confederation is to be apprehended: And if one or more were to revolt, whether the others would not be able to defend themselves?"

6. "That no person, in America, is of so much influence, power, or credit, that his death, or corruption by English money, could be of any nameable consequence."

7. "Whether the common people in America are not inclined, nor would be able, to find sufficient means to frustrate, by force, the good intentions of the skilful politicians?"

8. "What England properly ought to do, to force America to submission, and preserve her in it? How much time, money, and how many vessels, would be wanted for that purpose?"

9. "How strong the English land force is in America? How strong it was at the beginning? And whether it increases or diminishes?"

10. "How great is the force of America? The number of men? Their dicipline, &c. from the commencement of the troubles? Is there a good supply of warlike stores? Are these to be found, partly or entirely in America? Or must they be imported?"

11. "How great is the present debt of America? What has she occasion for yearly to act defensively? Are those wants supplied by the inhabitants themselves, or by other nations? If in the latter case, what does America lose of her strength by it? Are they not, in one manner or other, recompensed again by some equivalent advantage? If so, in what manner? What would be required to act offensively, and by that means shorten the war?"

12. "What countenance have the finances? How much does the expense exceed the yearly income? Does the annual revenue, derived from the taxes, increase or diminish, in the whole, or in any particulars? And what are the reasons to be given for it?"

13. "Of what resources might America hereafter still make use of?"

14. "What is the quantity of paper money in circulation? What credit the inhabitanns have for it, in their business? What designs the inhabitants have by maintaining its credit? What by preventing its increase? And in what manner do they realize it?"

15. "Does not the English army lay out its pay in America? At how much can the yearly benefit be calculated? Are not the prisoners provided for in America? Who has the care of their maintenance? How was Burgoyne's army supplied?"

16. "Who loses most by desertion? Do the English and German deserters serve voluntarily and well in the American army? How can those who do not enter into the army subsist?"

17. "Whether we have any information that we can rely on, concerning the population? Has it increased or diminished, since the war?"

18. "Does sufficient tranquility, contentment, and prosperity, reign in those places where the war does not rage? Can one sufficiently subsist there without feeling the oppression of the taxes? Does plenty abound there? Is there more than is necessary for consumption? Are the people well affected and encouraged to pursue the war, and endure its calamities? Or is there poverty and dejection?"

19. "Is not peace very much longed for in America? Might not this desire of peace induce the people to hearken to proposals appearing very fair, but which really are not so; which the people might be too quick in listening to, and the government forced to accept?"

20. "Have there not been different opinions in Congress, with regard to this (i. e. to proposals appearing fair, which were not so) from whence animosities have arisen?"

21. "Are there no mal-contents in America, against the government, who are otherwise much inclined for the American cause, who may force the nation, or congress, against their resolutions and interests, to conclude a peace?"

22—23 "General Monk repaired the King's government in England: Might not one American General or another be able, by discontent or corruption, to do the same? Would the army follow his orders on such an occasion? Could one or more politicians, through intrigues, undertake the same with any hopes of success, should even the army assist him in such a case?"—24. "The revolution must have made a great change in affairs, so that many people, though at present free of the enemy's incursions, have lost their daily subsistence. Have the occupations, which come instead of their old ones, been sufficient to supply their wants?

25,—"Do they who have lost their possessions and fortunes by the war, endure it patiently, as compatriots, so that nothing can be feared from them?"—26. "How has it gone with the cultivation of the land, before the troubles, at the commencement, and at present? What change has taken place?"

27.—"How was the situation of manufactures, manual arts and trade in general, at the beginning of this war? What change have they suffered?

28. "Has America gained, or lost, by the mutual capture of ships? How much is the benefit, or prejudice, of it, by calculation?"

29. "What are the real damages sustained, or still to be suffered, by the loss of Charleston? And what influence it has had upon the minds of the people?"

To PACIFICUS.

IF I have appeared at any time to favour any particular sect, or religious tenets, it is, probably, for the same reason that you appear an advocate for some other; because each thinks himself right—which may be true, if it be admitted that "as a man thinks, "so is he." But as in a publication, in the "Gazette of the "United States," No. V. "on religious toleration," I have admitted the possibility of doubt, in all cases not mathematically demonstrable, it cannot be rationally supposed, that I should so soon after conclude, that every man was in an error who should differ from me in opinions notoriously problematical;—I will, therefore, presume, that the inferences which you have drawn from the publication to which you refer, do by no means necessarily follow:—But no consideration should induce me to engage in religious disputes; because they have been rarely found, as appears from history, and the experience of ages, to tend to the conviction of either party; but on the contrary, have only served, in general, to irritate, to inflame, and to rivet prejudices, which never fail to warp the judgement, mislead the unwary, and frequently to produce those evils, which maugre your suspicions—no man can hold in greater abhorrence than I do.—Persecution of every species, disqualification, or even discrimination for difference of opinion in religious matters, appear to me in every view totally repugnant to the great purposes of religion, as well as to justice, reason, and good policy; and would probably soon evince to America, that she had spent her blood and treasure to no good purpose:—But while you appear to be jealous, and tenacious of your particular tenets, permit me to urge a due and decent regard to those which I may possibly think of equal importance, and deserving equal reverence and respect from those who profess the same opinion; but, at the same time, I hope never to see those, or any other religious opinions, supported, defended, or inculcated, but with a spirit of meekness, and by a conduct perfectly consistent with the genuine principles of toleration; with the most liberal candor, unbounded charity, universal philanthropy, and every moral virtue. E. C.

In the sketch of Mr. MADISON's Speech in our last, in 26th line from top of middle column 3d page, for "out of the power of the Legislature to infringe" read out of the power of the State Legislatures to infringe, &c.

The RIGHT CONSTITUTION *of a* COMMONWEALTH EXAMINED.

[*Continued from our laſt.*]

AT the critical moment, when the Gauls had approached the capital with ſuch ſilence as not to awaken the centinels, or even the dogs, M. Manlius, who had been conſul three years before, was awakened by the cry of the geeſe, which, by the ſanctity of their conſecration to Juno, had eſcaped with ther lives in an extreme ſcarcity of provi ſions. He haſtened to the wall, and beat down one of the enemy, who had already laid hold of the battlement, and whoſe fall from the precipice carried down ſeveral others who followed him. With ſtones and darts the Romans precipitated all the reſt to the bottom of the rock. Manlius the next day received in a public aſſembly his praiſes and rewards. Officers and ſoldiers, to teſtify their gratitude, gave him their rations for one day, both in corn and wine, half a pound of corn and a quarter of a pint of wine. "Ingens "caritatis argumentum, cum ſe victu ſuo fraudans, "detractum corpori & uſibus neceſſariis ad hono- "rem unis viri conferre," ſays Livy; and in the year of Rome 365, the commonwealth gave to Manlius an houſe upon the capital, as a monument of his valour and his country's gratitude.

In the year of Rome 370, fifty-five years after the execution of Melius, and five years after the defence of the capital from the attack of Brennus, Manlius is ſuſpected of ambition. Thoſe who had hitherto excited, or been excited by, the people to faction, had been plebeians. Manlius was a patrician of one of the moſt illuſtrious families: He had been conſul, and acquired immortal glory by his military exploits, and by ſaving the capital; he was, in ſhort, the rival of Camillus, who had obtained two ſignal victories over the Gauls, and from the new birth of the city had been always in office, either as dictator or military tribune; and even, when he was only tribune, his colleagues conſidered him as their ſuperior, and held it an honor to receive his orders as their chief. In ſhort, by his own reputation, the ſupport of the Quintian family, and the enthuſiaſtic attachment to him, he had inſpired into the nation, he was, in fact and effect, to all intents and purpoſes, King in Rome, without the name, but under the various titles of conſul, dictator, or military tribune. "He treats," ſaid Manlius, "even thoſe "created with powers equal to his own, not as "his colleagues, but officers and ſubſtitutes, to "execute his orders." The ariſtocratical Livy, and all the other ariſtocrates of Rome, accuſe Manlius of envy. They ſay he could not bear ſuch glory in a man whom he believed no worthier than himſelf: He deſpiſed all the reſt of the nobility: The virtues, ſervices, and honors of Camillus, alone excited his haughtineſs and ſelf-ſufficiency, and tortured his jealouſy and pride: He was enraged to ſee him always at the head of affairs, and commanding armies. It is certain that this practice of continuing Camillus always at the head was inconſiſtent with the ſpirit of the conſtitution, by which a rotation was eſtabliſhed, and the conſuls who had the command of armies could remain in office but one year. But this is the nature of an ariſtocratical aſſembly as well as of a democratical one: Some eminent ſpirit, aſſiſted by three or four families connected with him, gains an aſcendency, and excites an enthuſiaſm, and then the ſpirit and letter too of the conſtitution is made to give way to him. In the caſe before us, when Camillus could not be conſul, he muſt be military tribune; and when he could not be military tribune, he muſt be dictator.

Manlius is charged with envy, and with vain ſpeeches. "Camillus could not have recovered "Rome from the Gauls if I had not ſaved the ca- "pital and citadel." This was literally true; but ariſtocratical hiſtorians muſt brand the character of Manlius, in order to depreſs the people, and extol and adore that of Camillus, in order to elevate the ſenate and the nobles. But there is no ſolid reaſon to believe that Manlius envied Camillus, more than Camillus and the Quintian family were both envious and jealous of Manlius. The houſe upon the capital was what the Quintian family could not bear.

The truth is, an ariſtocratical deſpotiſm then ruled in Rome, and oppreſſed the people to a cruel degree; and one is tempted to ſay, that Manlius was a better man than Camillus or Cincinnatus, though not ſo ſecret, deſigning, and profound a politician, let the torrent of ariſtocratical hiſtory and philoſophy roll as it will. There were two parties, one of the nobles, and another of the people: Manlius, from ſuperior humanity and equity, embraced the weaker; Camillus and the Quintii, from family pride, like that of Lycurgus, domineered over the ſtronger party, of which they were in full poſſeſſion. Manlius threw himſelf into the ſcale of the people; he entered into cloſe intimacy and ſtrict union with the tribunes; he ſpoke contemptuouſly of the ſenate, and flattered the multitude. "Jam aura, non conſillio ferri, "famæque magnæ malle quam bonæ eſſe," ſays the ariſtocrate Livy. But let us examine his actions, not receive implicitly the epithets of partial hiſtorians.—The Roman laws allowed exorbitant intereſt for the loan of money: An inſolvent debtor, by the decree of the Judge, was put into the hands of his creditor as a ſlave, and might be ſcourged, pinched, or put to death, at diſcretion: The moſt execrable ariſtocratical law that ever exiſted among men; a law ſo diabolical, that an attempt to get rid of it at almoſt any rate was a virtue. The city had been burnt, and every man obliged to rebuild his houſe. Not only the pooreſt citizen, but perſons in middle life, had been obliged to contract debts. Manlius, ſeeing the rigour with which debts were exacted, felt more commiſeration than his peers for the people. Seeing a centurion, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a great number of gallant actions in the field, adjudged as a ſlave to his creditor, his indignation as well as his compaſſion were aroufed; he inveighed againſt the pride of the patricians, cruelty of the uſurers, deplored the miſery of the people, and expatiated on the merit of his brave companion in war;—ſurely no public oration was ever better founded: He paid the centurion's debt, and ſet him at liberty, with much oſtentation to be ſure, and ſtrong expreſſions of vanity; but this was allowable by the cuſtom and manners of the age. The centurion too diſplayed his own merit and ſervices, as well as his gratitude to his deliverer. Manlius went further; he cauſed the principal part of his own patrimony to be ſold, "in order, Romans," ſaid he, "that I may not "ſuffer any of you, whilſt I have any thing left, "to be adjudged to your creditors, and made "ſlaves." This, no doubt, made him very popular: But, in the warmth of his democratical zeal, he had been tranſported upon ſome occaſion to ſay in his own houſe, that the ſenators had concealed, or appropriated to their own uſe, the gold intended for the ranſom of the city from the Gauls; alluding, probably, to the fact, for that gold had been depoſited under the pedeſtal of Jupiter's ſtatue. Manlius perhaps thought that this gold would be better employed to pay the debts of the people. The ſenate recalled the dictator, who repaired to the forum, attended by all the ſenators, aſcended his tribunal, and ordered his lictor to cite Manlius before him. Manlius advanced with the people; on one ſide was the ſenate with their clients, and Camillus at their head; and on the other the people, headed by Manlius; and each party ready for battle at the word of command. And ſuch a war will, ſooner or later, be kindled in every ſtate, where the two parties of poor and rich, patricians and plebeians, nobles and commons, ſenate and people, call them by what names you will, have not a third power in an independent executive, to intervene, moderate, and balance them. The artful dictator interrogated Manlius only on the ſtory of the gold. Manlius was embarraſſed; for the ſuperſtition of the people would have approved of the apparent piety of the ſenate in dedicating that treaſure to Jupiter, though it was probably only policy to hide it. He evaded the queſtion, and deſcanted on the artifice of the ſenate, in making a war the pretext for creating a dictator, while their real deſign was to employ that terrible authority againſt him and the people. The dictator ordered him to priſon. The people were deeply affected; but the authority was thought to be legal, and the Romans had preſcribed bounds to themſelves, through which they dare not break. The authority of the dictator and ſenate held them in ſuch reſpect, that neither the tribunes nor the people ventured to raiſe their eyes or open their mouths. They put on mourning, however, and let their hair and beards grow, and ſurrounded the priſon with continual crowds, manifeſting every ſign of grief and affliction. They publicly ſaid, that the dictator's triumph was over the people, not the Volſci, and that all that was wanting was to have Manlius dragged before his chariot. Every thing diſcovered ſymptoms of an immediate revolt.—Here comes in a trait of ariſtocratical cunning, ad captandum vulgus, much more groſs than any that had been practiſed by Manlius. To ſoften the people, the ſenate became generous all at once, ordered a colony of two thouſand citizens to be ſent out, aſſigning each of them two acres and an half of land. Though this was a largeſs, it was confined to too ſmall a number, and was too moderate to take off all Manlius's friends. The artifice was perceived, and when the abdication of the dictatorſhip of Coſſus had removed the fears of the people, and ſet their tongues at liberty, it had ſmall effect in appeaſing the people, who reproached one another with ingratitude to their defenders, for whom they expreſſed great zeal at firſt, but always abandoned in time of danger; witneſs Caſſius and Melius. The people paſſed whole nights round the priſon, and threatened to break down the gates. The ſenate ſet Manlius at liberty, to prevent the people from doing it.

(To be continued.)

ANECDOTE.

A Madhouſe in Germany being compleated upon a new plan, the architect requeſted the Emperor to honor him ſo far as to look at the internal parts of the ſtructure before the lunatics were admitted; this the Imperial Joſeph conſented to, and, while he was in the houſe, ſome one chalked under the inſcription, which was, The Hoſpital for Lunatics, "*Joſephus ſecundus ubicunque, hic primus.*"

An ESSAY *on* FREE TRADE *and* FINANCES;

particularly ſhewing what ſupplies of public revenue may be drawn from Merchandiſe, *without injuring our trade or burdening our people.*

Continued from our laſt.

I. This mode of taxation may ſafely be raiſed to ſuch a degree, as *to produce all the money we need for the public ſervice*, or ſufficiently near it; perhaps a ſmall tax in the ordinary way would be more beneficial to the States, than none, becauſe this tax keeps the cuſtomary avennes from the wealth of individuals, to the public treaſury always open, which may be uſed on emergencies; and the habit and practice being ſettled, would avoid the difficulties naturally ariſing from novelty, or innovations. But to return to my argument. 'Tis greatly in favor of this kind of tax, that it will bring money enough for the public ſervice; 'tis matter of great animation in the purſuit of any object, to know that when accompliſhed, it will be adequate to its purpoſes. People all want to ſee the end of things, and to know when they are to have done: This will naturally produce much ſtronger efforts, vigor and cheerfulneſs, than if the thing when accompliſhed, would be but half adequate to its purpoſes.

II. This mode of taxation, *applies for money where 'tis to be had in greateſt plenty, and can be paid with moſt eaſe and leaſt pain.* If we apply to the farmer, tradeſman or labourer for caſh, they have mighty little of it, and 'tis hard for them to raiſe the neceſſary ſum; but 'tis matter of common courſe with the merchant, *through whoſe hands the great current of circulating caſh paſſes*; he will conſider the tax as part of the firſt coſt of his goods, and ſet his price and ſell accordingly: It matters little to him, whether he pays half the coſt of his goods abroad, and the other half at home, or whether he pays it all abroad, his object is to get the whole out of his ſales, with as much profit to himſelf as he can.

III. This mode *lays the burden of tax on that kind of conſumption, which is exceſſive and hurtful, and leſſens that conſumption, and of courſe mends the œconomy, and increaſes the induſtry and health of the people.* For 'tis plain, that no more money will be paid for the goods taxed, than would have been paid for the ſame kind of goods, had they not been taxed: The difference is, the ſame money paid for the taxed goods, will not buy ſo many of them as before the tax; becauſe the tax will raiſe the price of them; and when the conſumption or uſe of ſuch goods is exceſſive and hurtful, this leſſening of it is a benefit, though the ſame money is paid for them as before, for the ſame reaſon that 'tis better for a man that happens to be at a tavern with exceſſive drinkers to pay his whole ſhare of the reconning but drink leſs than his ſhare of the liquors, and *go home ſober*, than to pay the ſame reckoning, drink his full ſhare of the liquors, and *go home drunk*. 'Tis always better for a man to buy poiſon and not uſe it, than to buy the ſame poiſon and uſe it; in the one caſe he loſes nothing but his money, in the other caſe he loſes his money and health too. For the ſame reaſon 'tis better for a reaper to drink half a pint of rum in a day, than to reap for the ſame wages and drink a quart of rum. This reaſoning will hold in its proper degree, with reſpect to every kind of conſumption, which is exceſſive and hurtful.

(To be continued.

NATIONAL MONITOR.——No. VIII.

"A diſpoſition to complain, creates cauſe of complaint."

FROM the earlieſt periods of hiſtory, mankind have been as tenacious of the right to criminate or find fault, as if their happineſs was inſeparably connected with it—whereas nothing is perhaps more certain, than that thoſe evils of which they complain the loudeſt, often owe their exiſtence to a ſpirit of refining.

The world has kept its uſual courſe from age to age, "ſeed time and harveſt, day and night, ſummer and winter, have not ceaſed"—and there is the higheſt reaſon to ſuppoſe, that the order of the natural world, will be continued, until the final conſummation of all things.—To complain then of providence, that its arrangements do not ſuit our particular conveniency, is impious, is abſurd.

The fate of mankind we may very fairly conclude, has not received a melioration of its condition from the ſpirit of complaint—and the moral world owes very little of its improvement in virtue and benevolence, to that temper of mind which leads us to rail againſt the times.

Nor is the political world any more indebted to this ungrateful propenſity. The circumſtances of a free country are often brought to a very critical ſituation, through the injurious exerciſe of this right to criminate the conduct of public officers.—Perhaps no people upon earth have more creative imaginations, are more jealous, and impatient, than the citizens of America.—Jealouſy has been denominated a political virtue—but the jealouſy of ſome perſons is, by its effects, a mean, pitiful ſuſpicion—derogatory to the dignity of human nature—and deſpiſed by every independent mind which is made the ſubject of its attack.—If our anticipations are beyond the probability of nature, the conſequence willbe diſappointment—in ſuch caſe, crimination ſhould begin at home.—We may be impatient in waiting to realize our expectations; but this impatience will add to our chagrin when the moment arrives of a total defeat to our unreaſonable deſires.

It is not wiſe, to expect a great deal of gratification from any thing in proſpect.

As no man is ſo perfectly maſter of his own meaſures, as to be able to provide for every contingence, ſo diſappointments with reſpect to the ſucceſs of thoſe under the direction of our civil rulers, ſhould be ſubmitted to without complaint, when there appears to be an honeſty of principle.

It may be aſſerted with confidence, that an intemperate indulgence to a ſpirit of complaint, with reſpect to our civil rulers, will produce thoſe very evils which we fear, by diſcouraging the wiſe, the virtuous, and independent, from taking any part in public life—This will open the way for ſuch, as have no character to loſe: Who, while they plunder, abuſe and oppreſs the people, will alike contemn their complaints, and their ſufferings. C.

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